1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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ascribed to witchcraft, and those who die of smallpox are believed to have been witches. Indeed, if a man is assailed by small-pox a bundle of grass is brought to him and he is asked to count out the number of those whom he has devoured. A full confession may save his life, but if he dies his guilt is proved, and his body is taken out of the hut by a hole made in the wall, his eyes are pierced (so that his disembodied spirit may never again be able to see anyone on whom he may fix his spells), and his corpse is buried without ceremony and without the customary lamentations. Most towns have their own leech (*obo*). The patient pays the cost of the medicine, and if he recovers bestows a gift on the leech. Cupping is practised in cases of fever; also inoculation for small-pox, the fluid being taken from the pustules of a man suffering from a mild attack and transfused into the blood of a healthy man, by means of a scratch made with a razor. For toothache wild olive oil is placed in the hollow of the decayed tooth. A red hot arrow is then inserted, and the tooth is split into pieces, which are extracted one by one. The Katab do not follow the Hausa custom of slitting the gums of a child. But the uvula is snipped off on naming day with the object of preventing attacks of quinsy or tonsilitis.

Death.—On the occurrence of death the women of the household give way to tears and lamentation, and men may also be seen weeping. All relatives are immediately informed, and messengers are dispatched to summon distant relatives such as the married sister of the deceased. The death of a chief (by chief is meant civil and not religious chief) is, however, kept secret for a period of seven days, none but the closest senior relatives, the grave-diggers, and the priests of Elenowum and Obwai being informed. Interment follows as soon as possible—in the evening if the deceased had died in the morning, in the morning if he had died during the previous evening. But a chief is always buried at night, for no one but those whose duty it is to bury him may look on his corpse. The body, covered with a cloth jumper, is wrapped in a mat of plaited palm fronds. (But a chief is buried in a gown.) Burial is, for commoners and chief, in the compound, and a fresh grave is used for each body. Old men and chiefs are buried underneath the entrance hut of the compound. Those who die of smallpox are denied burial rites, the corpse being wrapped in a mat and deposited in the bush.

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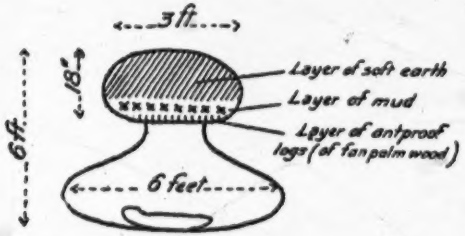
764 The grave is of the decanter-shaped type, as in the following plan :—



One of the grave-diggers enters the grave to receive the body. Another stands at the neck to hand it down. The body is laid to rest in the extended position, a man being laid on his right side facing east, a woman on her left side facing west (which is the usual Hausa mode of interment). As the body is placed in position the relatives give vent to pious utterances such as "May God (Gwaza) receive you, and may God refrain from taking any more of us". A chief is laid on a platform of sticks on which a mat is spread. The neck of the grave is blocked with logs of the trunk of the fan palm (which are ant-proof) and these are plastered over with a layer of mud. The excavated earth is then piled on top, raising a mound above the surface level, in order to prevent the rain washing out the grave. If the deceased had been a man of importance a stone is set up on the top of the grave in order that the site of the grave may be known to descendants who may wish to make offerings to their dead ancestor.

After the interment horns are blown if the deceased had been moderately old; but if young, all further rites are waived. There is no dancing over the grave (as among the pagan tribes of Bornu). Beer is then drunk, the priest of Elenowum saying: "So-and-so has died; may he rest in peace, and may his house increase." A goat may be killed by the senior relatives and shared by the relatives and friends, the priest receiving a major share. If the deceased had been a chief the priest of Elenowum 764 sacrificed the goat himself and shared with those who had helped at the burial, carefully burying the blood in order that none ● 622 may suspect that the chief had died. The secret of the chief's 177 death was maintained for seven days, and was then disclosed to his immediate relatives (who no doubt were already fully aware

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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of the fact) and was publicly announced some three or four weeks later by beating the royal drum and summoning relatives from far and wide, goats being killed, and a feast held. These rites are probably a late importation from other tribes, as the Katab originally never had any chiefs in the present sense of the word.

It was customary in former times that eight days after the death of an old important man a human skull and the skulls of a buffalo, hartebeest, and roan (obtained from the priest of Elenowum) were displayed, one on each hut of the deceased's compound. This is interesting as showing that the skull cult was in some way identified with the cult of the dead, but the Katab are not able to suggest in what way. The skulls would not, they said, be put on the top of a house in which a woman was weaning a child, as that would cause the speedy death of the child. The widow goes into mourning, and, on the conclusion of her mourning, a feast is held, the skulls being returned to the priest of Elenowum.

The real funeral feast, however, must take place in the dry season, as it would be impossible during the rains to assemble relatives who were busy with their farming duties. The funeral feast is, therefore, held after harvest and lasts for two days. It is held not at the graveside, but in an open space in the village. The women of the town in which the old man or woman had died prepare the beer. The senior male relatives go to the *obwai* hut, and after a symposium accompanied by the beating of a double-barrelled pottery vase which emits a hollow deathlike tone they come forth and join in a general dance accompanied by drums, horns, and zithers (imported from the Bauchi Plateau). One of the songs sung at the dance is sung in Hausa, as the Katab say that none of their own songs are so euphousion :—

"Baban dorina, dama rua, wa ka shiga ?
(Mighty hippopotamus, disturber of the waters, who can enter there ?)
Dodon Gwari, giwa da ragama,
(Spook of the Gwari, elephant with a headstall)
Yayan Bakwa, suna hana giwa dawa
(Sons of the Hausa, who drive away the elephant)
Kajin giddarku su je su kwana lafiya
(Chickens of your household may they go and sleep in peace)
Akwian giddarku su je su kwana lafiya
(Goats of your household may they go and sleep in peace)
Yayan giddarku su je su kwana lafiya
(Children of your household may they go and sleep in peace)."

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765 *Mourning Customs.*—A widow allows her hair to grow long, refrains from washing and smears her body daily with ochre for one to two months (varying in accordance with the worldly status of the deceased husband). At the end of this period she is shaven and washed in the river by female relatives. If she is [587] still comparatively young she will have a suitor, and he will, at the conclusion of her mourning, present her with a goat, etc., that she may be able to provide a feast for friends and relatives. Males do not engage in mourning rites. If, therefore, a man loses his wife he summons a married sister to come and perform the rites on his behalf. She remains in seclusion during the period of mourning, and allows her hair to grow long. On the conclusion of the rites she returns to her husband's village.

613 *Government and Law.*—It may be surmised that, prior to the time when they came under the Habe of Zaria, the Katab 622 tribe consisted of a number of unconsolidated groups without 648 any central organization. Each group or sub-clan may have acknowledged the authority of its own Magajin Elenowum in things spiritual and temporal, but the existing system of sub-clan chiefs charged with executive and administrative powers seems to have been evolved in order to regulate the relations of the tribe with the Habe of Kauru, who had established their suzerainty over the Katab long before they themselves became subject to the Bornu-Fulani dynasty of Zaria at the beginning of last century.

648 The Hausa town of Zangon Katab was founded during the early Kauru régime as a caravanserai for Hausa traders, and as 622 a base from which the Kauru chiefs could extract tribute from 554 the Katab and exercise such administrative control as was 778 necessary for this purpose. In the matter of tribute it would appear that the Kauru chiefs dealt direct with each village area, ignoring the clan organization. But for purposes of such general administration as existed, a headman was appointed for each sub-clan, and his fealty was sworn on the sacred sword which was a characteristic feature of the Zaria polity. Sacred swords were granted to chiefs of importance throughout the Zaria dominions and treated with the utmost awe by the recipients, who guarded them closely and sprinkled them regularly with the blood of a chicken or goat. Minor chiefs and village headmen were not granted a sword, but were sworn in on a sword specially

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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sent from Kauru for the purpose. The Katab headmen were treated in this way and, when a new headman was appointed, a messenger was sent from the chief of Kauru with the sword wrapped in a mat. The messenger was given numerous presents (a goat, bags of millet, salt, a dish of butter, and 10,000 cowries) and the ceremony of swearing-in was then performed. "Here is the sword," he said; "if you swear that you will do no mischief, and will hide nothing from us you will be established. But if you engage in intrigue this sword will kill you." The headman swore to be faithful for ever, and was then allowed a fleeting glance at the sword, the case being slightly opened. A feast was held, and the messenger returned to Kauru with the sword. The present district headman of the Katab area obtained two of these swords from Kauru and uses them in the same way to-day. He has issued one to each of the heads of the sub-clans, Aswen and Fakan, and these headmen use the swords for swearing in minor officials of the sub-clan. No village headman would feel that he had been properly appointed if he had not been shown the sword.

The sword shown to me was shaped thus, the handle having been injured :—

The length was about two feet. Numerous other chiefs of Nigerian tribes have sacred swords. Some are believed to have been brought from the Yemen by the forefathers of the chief. (But those examined were of Prussian manufacture.)

When the Bornu-Fulani dynasty displaced the Habe of Zaria, Kauru came under the new régime and the Katab continued to function as an appendage of Kauru. (Morwa, however, dealt

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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likely to embroil him with his fellow-clansmen. His position was never so strong that he could call on his clansmen to perform such personal services as the repair of his house or the clearing of his farm.

The position of the village-head was even more unenviable. It was his business to apportion the tax, which might be a horse or slave, or several, according to the size of the village. To obtain this he called on each householder to provide as much corn or cash as would suffice to buy the slave required. He had to arrest criminals and send them to Kauru. But apart from these imposed duties he was careful to mind his own business. Any excessive zeal would be rewarded by an arrow. The Katab was quick to seize his bow even against his nearest relatives, and it was not uncommon for a village-head to take refuge in Kauru until the anger of his fellow-villagers had subsided.

It would appear that in the early days the Aswen sub-clan was recognized as the senior Katab clan, the chief of Aswen receiving an acknowledgment of his position in the form of the forelegs of larger game killed. But in later times the sub-clan of Fakan assumed the rôle formerly held by Aswen. Fakan, however, was merely *primus inter pares*. If one sub-clan had a dispute with another the matter was referred to a disinterested group. Thus, if the Agbat had a dispute with the Aswen, the Fakan sub-clan was called in as an intermediary. If Fakan had a dispute with Nje, the Aswen clan was asked to adjudicate, and so on.

The present position is that the Katab (with the Ikulu and Kaje) are administered from Zaria by a resident district headman with the title of Katuka, who is directly responsible to the Emir of Zaria. The sub-clan and clan headman have no executive authority outside the limits of their own village-areas, but they combine to form a native court which sits monthly at each of the sub-clan headquarters, the chief of the sub-clan Aswen being at the moment president of the court. The sub-clan and elders also, in accordance with native custom, form a deliberative assembly, and I witnessed a meeting of this assembly which had been convened to discuss certain matters referred to them by the district headman. The Magajin Mugu of the Aswen sub-clan spoke first, and was followed in turn by the other sub-clan headmen. As each finished speaking the most senior men

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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Morwa

any sacred place wearing a gown. The Morwa have no tutelary genii, like the Katab.

The priest plays a prominent part at the installation of the chief. He gives the chief a special draught to drink, and then ceremonially shaves and washes him, afterwards clothing him in a gown. The Morwa chief is, like his neighbours, the possessor of a sacred sword, the magical emblem. At the installation of a new chief the priest fetches the sword from the house of the late chief. It is carefully wrapped up and none may look on it except the priest and chief. The priest slays a goat and chicken (provided by the chief) and rubs the blood (mingled with water) on the sword, saying: "Sword I have brought you here that you may bless us. Let the chief and this town have prosperity and may no evil come, even to a child. For I perform the rites my father performed. Let not the chief die early, and may no sickness overtake him or his wives or his children." On each Friday for the first month or so of his reign, and at intervals throughout each year, the chief summons the priest to bring the sword. They drink some beer together, and then the priest removes some of the wrappings and shows a part of the knife to the chief, saying "Do you see the sword?" The chief replies, "I do and I rejoice." The priest then says, "Sword, let no evil come on the chief or his people or on any of our domestic animals. For I am of the ancient stock of this country, and these are the rites my forefathers performed."

A year after the installation the concluding rites are performed with feasting and sacrifice. The sword again plays a principal part, and the chief is then for the first time clothed in a black gown. Formerly he could only wear a white gown. The sword is a great asset to the chief; for, apart from the security which it confers on the owner, it is also a source of income. The possessors of minor titles believe that an occasional view of the sacred weapon will secure them also in their offices. They are permitted therefore to view the sword on payment of what must be, to them, a considerable sum.

The Morwa were head-hunters like their neighbours, and their rites were similar to those described in the Katab report. They did not take the heads of Katabs whom they killed, but they took their bodies home and buried them, and danced over the grave.

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601 On the basis of Meek's table of kinship terms (*Northern Tribes*, II, pp. 26–7), Murdock has classified Katab terminology as "Normal Guinea" (comparable with, among others, the Chawai): according to Meek, it is identical with the Kagoro, and, save for dialectal differences, with the Kaje.

Local Organs of Authority: Legal Procedure

613 793 622 The information available is somewhat confused. At the bottom of the scale the head of the compound or cluster of related compounds[21] seems to have considerable authority. Meek, however, indicates that the basic unit of authority is the lineage, each of which has a recognized social and religious chief, the *elenowum* (or *magajin elenowum*), a member of that branch of the lineage "which has always held the hereditary position of comptroller" of the lineage. He is not necessarily the oldest member; he may be and often is junior to other members of other branches of the lineage, but that does not lessen his authority. He is the chief priest and was formerly the custodian of human skulls taken in war; he is appealed to on all matters of custom, rank and seniority, but has no authority in political matters as the political chiefship always runs in another branch. The civil chief might, however, ask his advice or report to him the steps he had taken. The advice of the *elenowum* may be disregarded, but his "supposed magical powers would in the end conquer." Meek goes on to say that if the lineage consists of more than one extended family, each has also its head.

613 624 In addition to the social and political headships there are various other hereditary headships, always in different branches of the lineage. Among these Meek includes officers in charge of the *obwai* cult and the rain cult (see *Religion*, below), hunting "and the preparation of arrow poisons" (perhaps also the administration of the poison ordeal?), and another officer in charge of the young men "sending them out in a body to work on roads or to take part in a day's collective work on a farm, or to provide music at a festival, and so on" (possibly the same as the head of the *obwai* cult?). In general, Meek states, the lineages are fairly well localized in villages and hamlets, in any one of which, however, members of lineages other than the principal one may reside.

621 648 In Fulani times and earlier the village hamlet was apparently the basic unit of administration. To all appearances, in pre-Fulani times the chiefs of Kajuru, Kauru and Zaria were rivals in the territory occupied by members of the Katab Group. After the Fulani conquest, the situation remained complex owing to the rise of a Fulani Emirate at Jema'a Daroro, but Kajuru was eliminated from the lists, and Kauru was firmly affixed to Zaria Emirate, with the Katab tribal area "as an appendage." The Makama of Zaria became the chief of Kauru's "patron" at the court of the Emir, and the Galadiman Makama is said to have accompanied the chief of Kauru annually to Zangon Katab, "when tribute, in the form of slaves, was collected town by town." Meek adds that in matters of tribute the Kauru chiefs apparently dealt direct with each village, ignoring the clan organization, "but for purposes of such general administration as existed, a headman was appointed for each sub-clan, and his fealty sworn on the sacred sword [of the chief of Kauru]." The sub-clan head had little authority and nothing to do with the assignment or collection of taxes, but he was "the mouthpiece of the Kauru rulers," and could summon village and sub-clan heads to discuss matters of administration. He could deal with minor offences, but all important matters were referred to Kauru. According to Meek, the civil chief of the village or, more accurately, of the lineage, occupied a position "even more unenviable"; it was his business to apportion tax, which might be a horse or a slave or several according to the size of the village [lineage]. He also had to arrest criminals and send them to Kauru.[22] Apart from

[21] Meek's "extended family": see particularly Meek's description of the household.

[22] Zangon Katab was the site of an important slave-market: it is recorded that the Birom of the High Plateau disposed of certain categories of criminals through sale to Irigwe middlemen, who in turn sold them in Zango. (See also *Peoples of the Plateau Area of Northern*

Jema'a. So they seceded, made their own chief, and their own arrangements about tribute to Jema'a."

From this point, Mathews' account becomes somewhat difficult to interpret: "A senior branch of the Kaninkon . . . comprises the towns of Amere, Bakin Kogi, and Gerti. [This is presumably the "Black" section of the tribe, though Mathews fails to label it as such.] They say that they were conquered by the Fulani and thereafter paid them tribute, but that each town had its own *jekada* and brought its own tribute to Jema'a. At first, when the Fulani had not come to Jema'a, they had one chief for them all [that is, a paramount chief of Kaninkon, presumably] and another one for the "Black" [spokesmen from which are informing here?] and "White" Kaninkon [that is, one "chief" for each section: see also below] . . . and [still another for] Ambam. But after the split there were separate chiefs, and they would not be prepared to unite now. . ."

It would appear that the sectional chiefs of the second paragraph quoted are perhaps the "separate priests for each village" of the first paragraph, and that the people of Amare, Bakin Kogi. and Garte constituted one local unit or village ("Black"), while Ungwar Peri and Ungwar Baki constituted another ("White"); the unique position of Ambam remains, however, to be explained. The position of the "paramount chief" cannot be determined precisely on the basis of the material here presented: he might have been the intermediary between the body of village priests and Sarkin Kajuru; or a ritual specialist of some sort with a wider than usual following (cf. the *teowap* of Shokwa, etc., under Katab, above).

According to Mathews, Kaninkon intermarry with the people of Nindam village, immediately south of Kaninkon territory (see Kachichere, below). Smith reports that Kagoro tradition describes Kaninkon as friends and allies of Kagoro (like Kagoro's Katab, Kafanchan and Jaba neighbours): this, apparently, in spite of the fact that Kaninkon submitted to Kagoro's Hausa-Fulani enemies, and may well have joined in raids on neighbouring tribes such as the Kagoro who resisted the power of Jema'a.

No other information is available regarding the Kaninkon and their culture.

Kachichere (Aticherak) of Zangon Katab District; "Daroro" of Jema'a District, Jema'a Emirate-Division, Plateau Province

Location: Population: Nomenclature: Affiliations: Traditions of Origin

South-east of the seven Village-areas of Zangon Katab District, Zaria Emirate, which constitute the (unofficial) Katab tribal area, against the northern border of Moroa Independent District, lie the Village-areas of Kachichere Arna and Pari—on the westernmost spur of the High Plateau, a peak of which rises to some 4,000 ft. above the village of Kachichere. Kachichere Arna (population 276, *c.* 1948) is inhabited largely by Aticherak—the Hausa corruption of which name is the more familiar "Kachichere." Pari is a Chawai (Atsam) community, but contains the important Aticherak hamlet of Lungu (population 520, in 1950). The total figure given in the N.A. Census of 1948–9 for Aticherak in Zangon Katab District (and Zaria Province) is 699; the slightly greater total of the two villages may be due to a small number of Hausa smiths in Kachichere Arna Village-area."

" The designation Kachichere Arna, Hausa "Pagan Kachichere," implies the existence of another hamlet or village, Kachichere Hausawa: the Hausa smiths of Kachichere are famous, having settled there under the protection of the Sarkin Kajuru perhaps 200 years ago. These smiths seem to have been the source of swords among the Kagoro (and no doubt other tribes in the vicinity) which Meek and others have regarded as symbols of chieftaincy and of subordination to Kajuru: Smith, however, was told by Kagoro informants that the swords were given by itinerant Kajuru Hausa smiths out of Rahama, Kachichere, and other Hausa settlements, to those in Kagoro who were able to guarantee the safety of the smiths in their "unsettled" community, which suggests a system of commercially organized exploitation rare in Nigeria. Very little information is available regarding Kanru and the swords

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

582 Meek has analysed the organization of Kachichere Arna. Where secondary marriage is concerned, the Village-area as a whole functions with relation to the Katab tribe much as the smaller Katab clans, Aku and Shokwa, with their fellows; that is, it constitutes the local unit within which its members may not seek secondary wives. Secondary marriages are, however, contracted with " wives obtained from neighbouring tribes," but whether also from Aticherak of Lungu is not known. As regards primary marriage, Aticherak form what appears to be virtually an endogamous community; at Kachichere Arna there are four exogamous units,[41] Ne-Tabin, Ne-Chobiam, Ne-Tiet, and Iningwa-Tiap,[42] those at Lungu are given by Reynolds as Alegahk, Tsoniata, Shoviam (=Chobiam), and Uwatiyap (=Iningwa-Tiap).[43] Primary marriage laws " closely resemble those of the Katab," according to Meek. As among Katab, the widows of a father or grandfather—real or classificatory—are heritable. Meek notes, however, that " every Kachichere child. . . has to be redeemed from the mother's family by a graduated scale of payments. . ." The exogamous units are not totemic; all Aticherak of Kachichere Arna, however, " respect " the crocodile and leopard.

613 The civil head of Kachichere Arna Village-area (responsible, like the Katab
622 Village-area heads, directly to the Katuka at Zangon Katab) is a member of
793 Ne-Tabin, and " his ' madaiki ' or second-in-command " (duties not indicated) of Ne-Chobiam.[44] Each lineage has its own head (*magajin elenowum*), those of Ne-Tabin and Ne-Chobiam being apparently separate from Village-area head and Madaiki, but for the whole community there is a single *obwai* priest and a single rain-maker, *atun yevwo*.[45] At Lungu, the connections of the hamlet head are not entirely clear; he is, of course, subordinate to the Atsam head of Pari Village-area. The hamlet council, according to Reynolds, consists of the hamlet head and the heads of each group and sub-group of the village.

114 There is no information about the extensive Kachichere community in Jema'a District, of which the obscure Numana peoples, about whom little more than the names and populations of their villages is known, may or may not be part. The names of the scattered hamlets already listed may be to some extent indicative of the socio-political organization: Ungwar Magaji and Ungwar Madaki both probably refer to actual civil titles, but there is no indication to which of the older villages they may appertain, and the significance of the other names is unknown.

101 In conclusion, it may be noted that Aticherak of both Kachichere Arna and
197 Lungu appear outwardly to be virtually indistinguishable from their Katab neighbours.[46] Also, according to Meek, the local dialect varies only slightly from standard Katab.

[41] These appear to be lineages since, according to Meek, " the members of each believe themselves to be blood relatives, and . . . they appear to be able to trace their ancestry genealogically back to a common forefather. . . ."

[42] The meaning of these (or even the significance of the hyphens) is not stated by Meek. -Tiap, it will be noted, resembles the name the Katab give themselves, *Atyap*.

[43] According to Drummond-Hay (whose information appears to be supported by Reynolds' notes) other Aticherak are located at a village or hamlet, Kingwarang (Dutsin Kimbarang, according to Reynolds) but nothing appears to be known of its present size or structure, so that its population may have been included by Reynolds in his count of the inhabitants of Lungu.

[44] The chief of Kachichere Arna possesses a sword believed by Meek to be of Kajuru origin. The only other information relating to the chieftaincy is Meek's statement that a chief, on his appointment (by whom?), goes " into seclusion for seven days beginning on a Sunday."

[45] Meaning not recorded, but cf. distinctive title of Numana priest-chiefs, *Itum*.

[46] Aticherak, at least those of Lungu, profess a closer tie with Atsam, claiming voluntarily to have entered Chawai territory; having earlier professed a vital link with Kajuru, they resisted a move by Administration in 1931–2 to place them under the Kajuru hamlet-head, in favour of remaining under the Village-area head of Pari. Yet men of Chawai refuse to take Aticherak wives, since, according to various informants, Aticherak women wear lip-plugs! Meek notes that men of Kachichere Arna take secondary wives from neighbouring tribes, but does not specify whether Atsam is among these.

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Ikulu
KAMANTAN

According to Temple, "a large proportion of the Ikolu are blacksmiths," which would seem to differentiate them from Katab, who have by all accounts no smiths at all, and apparently also from Kadara, among whom smiths are not numerous. It will be recalled, however, that the chiefs of Kajuru appear to have had some special connection with the smiths of Kachichere.

KAMANTAN

GENERAL: NOMENCLATURE: POPULATION: LOCATION: SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Available information relating to Kamantan (Kamantam) parallels closely the brief description given of Ikulu.

According to Meek, their name for themselves is Angan (sing. Zamangan): the origin and meaning of the name are not indicated.

The Zaria N.A. Census of 1948–9 returns 3,634 Kamantan for Zangon Katab District and the Province. The Resident of Zaria's list of Village-areas, undated, (*c.* 1948), shows the population of Padan (Fadan) Kamantan, the single predominantly Kamantan Village-area, to be 3,343."

The essential feature of Angan social organization, judging from Meek's notes, seems to be that "people who are related give their daughters in marriage more readily than they would give them to strangers; but cousins may not marry." Presumably "cousins" here refers to collateral relatives whose genealogical relationship is recognized, and the rule implies that the group of kinsmen whose relation to Ego can be traced genealogically constitute Ego's exogamous units. This system certainly differs radically from the normal Katab (but cf. Srubu, p. 63 above, where marriage rules appear to be comparable). Meek partially analyses the Kamantan tribe as follows:

"Wife-stealing" units	*Villages*	*Comments*
(1)	Kagal	2 related exogamous sections
	Ashin (Kaku)	2 non-related exogamous sections
(2)	Kaban	
	Kangun	
(3)	Agan [sic] (Fadan Kamantan)	Believed related
	Balil	
	Lona	
(4)	Yangan	
	Shokwan	

Only the first village named for each "wife-stealing" unit can be located on maps of the area. It would not be surprising if the various parts of Angan society were disparate, but more information is needed before further comment can be made.

The Kamantan tribe, comprising a single Village-area, is the only tribe of the Katab Group so far described which has, in effect, a tribal chief. The office is nowhere discussed, though Meek notes that the chief has a ritual sword (the origin of which is not stated).

observer to have described the Katab *obwai*-hut as "tall" (Meek notes that the hut is round in contrast to the usual style of building): in the Kadara area, on the other hand, many investigators have been struck by the unusual height of the "tsafi huts" and the extreme pitch of their conical thatched roofs. It has already been noted that the Katab *obwai* cult resembles in many respects the Kadara *dodo*-cult, and it seems possible that Ikulu, even if not a branch of Kadara, may have acted as a medium for the diffusion of the Kadara *dodo*-cult over the whole of the Katab area. Diffusion from the west seems, on the basis of the very scanty information available, more likely only because the *dodo*-cult is completely absent from a wide area of the High Plateau, whence Kagoro—who practise *obwai*—seem to have come, on the east. The chief of Ankuwa interviewed by Meek recognized the essential unity of the Kadara, Kaje, Srubu, and Ikulu *dodo*-cults.

[a] The difference is probably accounted for by inaccurate returns.

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Kagoro
Kafanchan

According to Meek, the Kafanchan (occasionally written by him "Kabbanchan") tribe, located in the immediate vicinity of Kafanchan Town, are an "offshoot" of Kagoro. Smith notes that Kagoro seem to have regarded Kafanchan as friends and allies in times past.

The most recent figures available specifically for Kagoro of Jema'a and for Kafanchan are those compiled by A. B. Mathews in 1934:

	Village	*Population*
Kagoro	Tafam [41]	887
	Tukun Kasa	250
	Tukun Tozo	388
	Ungwan Kagoro [42]	146
	Total	1,671
Kafanchan	Total [43]	971

At the time of Mathews' investigation, Kagoro of Jema'a were administered through three village headmen (Tafam, Tuku, and Ungwan Kagoro). In 1950 Administration was encouraging the formation of a tribal council as a means of uniting whatever factions may have existed among Kagoro in the District. Kafanchan appear sometimes to have been administered through the heads of their four villages, sometimes through a "tribal chief"—an institution alleged to date back to their submission to Kajuru. At present, they are said to have elected to join with the three Kaje villages of Jema'a District to form a local council.

Traditions: Social Structure[44]

Kagoro are divided into two major groups or "moieties" on the basis of their traditions of origin. One of these bears the name of Ankwei:[45] this group is patrilineally descended from ancestors who left the High Plateau to the north-east of Kagoro District, resided for a time in the vicinity of Nimbia and eventually retired to the safe heights of the Kagoro massif (about 1700, according to Smith's estimate).[46] From the account given by Smith it seems not unlikely that, while at Nimbia, Ankwei may have been simply a localized clan or clan segment participating with other similar groups in a tribal organization the major centre of which lay on the High Plateau, for example, at Jal, or Shonong (Oshono), or Bachit, or Riyom; on Kagoro rock, however, where Ankwei would virtually have lost all contact with the Plateau homeland, Ankwei-Kagoro "split into three divisions, Zafan, Mingio and Atswam," according to the tradition ascribed by Smith to "the men of Zafan." These seem likely to have been localized exogamous groups (cf.

[41] Tafa, according to Tremearne; Tafan, in the Census of 1930 Village Directory.

[42] The first three villages named claim to antedate all Kagoro settlements in Kagoro District, Zaria; the inhabitants of what Mathews calls "Ungwan Kagoro" are recent immigrants from Kagoro District, said to have come seeking to escape persecution from a District head later deposed. No "Ungwan Kagoro" appears on present-day village lists at Kafanchan, and it is to be supposed that these immigrants reformed themselves, after Mathews' investigation, into a number of villages: in addition to the first three named above, Administration recognised Akau, Chenji, Daudu, Godogodo, Kato, and Kowai as Kagoro settlements in 1950. It is not known whether immigration from Kagoro District continues.

[43] Kafanchan Town is said originally to have been a Kafanchan settlement, but here they have been largely displaced by "stranger" elements. Kafanchan villages recognized as such by Administration are: Garaje, Ungwar Adam, Ung. Mamudu, and Ung. Sigari (Ringari on Forestry Reconnaissance Map of the Division dated May, 1948).

[44] A field study by M. G. Smith, who appears to have taken fully into account the earlier work done by Meek at Kagoro, is heavily drawn upon in this section.

[45] No connection with Ankwe (more properly Kemai or Goemai) of Shendam Division, Plateau Province, can be traced.

[46] Tradition recorded at Kagoro: it is not known whether Tuku and Tafam in Jema'a District are Ankwei, or constitute one or more other similar groups perhaps not represented among Kagoro of Kagoro District.

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KAGORO

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616
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Village-Area : Population	*Ankwei moiety : Kwai—Bin—Population*		*Kpashan moiety : Kwai—Bin—Population*	
Kukum (Kukkum) : 1,612	Kangai (7)	315	Sukurak (20)	294
	Katuk (7)	332		
	Katuwak (7) ..	132		
	Kunduwak (7) ..	227		
	Kusali (7)	100		
	Zukpom (7, 8) ..	84		
	Kpaguwak (1) ..	128		
		1,318		
Kadarko : 708	Kabum (9)	77		
	Kagwurum (9) ..	173		
	Kanyio (9)	121		
	Kikwot (9)	117		
	Zafan (9)	179		
	Sibio (10)	16		
	Ti (10)	26		
Makabun (Makabbo) : 303	Kabon (9)	183		
	Kagwurum (9) ..	40		
	Kikwot (9)	16		
	Zafan (9)	59		
	Sibio (10?)	5		
Malagum : 609	Mingio (3)	23	Kawom (24)	206
			Kutrok (19)	380
				586
Safio (Safwio) : 793	Atswan (6)	21	Kalayip (26, 18) ..	87
	Kabiokut (8)	75	Kamang ? (26, 18, 25)	222
	Mungwop (5)	38	Kushwon (26 18, 17)	146
		134	Kuluk (22)	204
				659
Dussai (Duchin, Dusai) : 230	Ankut (11)	?		
	Anpi (12)	?		
	Kagwom (13) ..	?		
Mafok (Mafo, Mafor) : 435	Ankut (11)	?		
	Anpi (12)	?		
	Kagwom (13) ..	?		

It should be explained that the complex linkages between *bin* at Fadan Kagoro are the result of relations maintained by single lineages within the *kwai* concerned. Elsewhere, apparently, linkages between *bin* commonly involve entire *kwai*. 618

Population figures are derived from Smith's own census of July, 1950, except for the totals for Dussai and Mafok, which he attributes to the N.A. Census for 1949–50. Alternative names for Village-areas given in parentheses are derived variously from Ames, Census Village Directory of 1931, Cole, Meek, and Tremearne. 162

LOCAL ORGANS OF AUTHORITY.

In 1950 the chief of the Kagoro Independent District was a man of Kamang *tusa* of Kalahu *kwai* at Fadan Kagoro, popularly chosen by Kagoro on the death in 1945 of his predecessor, who also came of the Kamang lineage: of the five (or more) chiefs recognized by Administration since the first British expedition to the District in 1905, all have come of Kamang lineage save one. 622

The facts that lie behind these facts are impossible to establish with any real certainty at this late date. Smith sums up the situation: "When living in their strongholds in the Kagoro hills . . .Kagoro had no single tribal chief. . . . He is

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Kagoro

not a traditional entity." Smith's field data bear out Cole's statement that in 1905 the ritual leaders designated a man of Kamang when the British enquired after a chief. It would appear that the chieftaincy developed in a contact situation, and it seems to be more than a mere coincidence that a man of Kpashan, the "ritually inferior" moiety should have been put forward, when such a move is seen to conform to a pattern to which the well attested exceptions are rare.[73] Smith notes that the chieftaincy has progressed in two generations "from . . . a thing of derision" to "an object of competition," and states that the present chief has developed a system of councils integrated with the clan organization and with the two main groups produced by culture contact, the village chiefs, and the literate young men. Three delegates—the village chief, a village elder, and a literate young man—are selected by each village council, and these delegates meet with the chief every three months to form the tribal council, in which common affairs of interest are discussed and proposals made. Village councils are composed of three similar persons from each clan—the clan head, another elder, and a literate young man—but meet under the village chief more frequently. Proposals accepted by the tribal council are referred back to village councils and, from them, go to the level of clan discussion, the popular feeling being expressed at the next meeting by the delegates, when decisions for action are taken.

No detailed information is available on form of settlement, though the implication of all accounts seems to be that compounds and *kwai* are fairly widely scattered, apart from a few concentrations (as at Fadan Kagoro in the vicinity of the railway station): this situation is incident to Administration's dispersal, early in this century, of the hill villages (in all probability, more compact), to the local system of land tenure and to farming methods (shifting cultivation). No Kagoro village to-day is anything like simple in structure: of the villages analysed above only Dussai, Kadarko, Mafok, and Makabun are entirely Ankwei (no village is entirely Kpashan), and each of these constitutes a collection of *kwai*, while the remaining seven villages are structurally complex entities with representatives of both moieties.

In general, it appears that one Ankwei *kwai* in each village is recognized by all other *kwai* in the village as ritually paramount:[74] each *kwai* has its own leaders, but the leaders of the paramount (because senior in the area) *kwai* in the past, at least, were the leaders of the village; according to Smith, each village has responded to Administration by casting up a civil or secular chief, whose prestige and authority have steadily grown to some extent at the expense of the power of the priests.[75] At the present time the chief duty of the "community-chief" (title, *agwom*) is "to provide members of the community with land and house-sites for settlement."[76]

Similarly, what might be termed a secular territorial unit has emerged to mediate between the *kwai*, as a territorial unit, and the village: this is the ward (Hausa, *ungwa*), a unit which Smith appears to regard as having been defined entirely arbitrarily and by Administration. It would seem that a ward may include within its boundaries several contiguous *kwai* or even lineages, whether or not related, thus cutting across *kwai* boundaries."[77] It is strongly implied, if not stated, that these wards have civil heads.

The title of the chief priest of the village is *tienwhop*, to use Smith's ortho-

[73] Cf. footnotes on Warjawa organization in Gwaram (Kano), p. 26, above.

[74] How Kata lineage of Kadau *kwai*, Kpashan moiety, at Fadan Kagoro, shares in Ankwei ritual (see p. 90, above) there is not specified.

[75] No information is available regarding the principle upon which this functionary was originally chosen (especially the moiety from which chosen).

[76] It is surprising that the *agwom* should be a recent innovation in view of Kagoro's tradition of a Plateau origin; among Aten and Birom in their Plateau homeland, *gwom* = priest chief. Data from Kaje tribe, as from Katab, appear to agree with Kagoro in this.

[77] Smith indicates, however, that though in the villages members of a clan may share a clearly defined area, the farms of members of distinct *kwai* are commonly interdigitated, outside the villages. Cf. discussion of wards in Ningi District, p. 15, above.

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Moroa
Ataka

	Population (1931)
Babban Gida (Agbwat) [101]	184
Biniki (Beniki)	253
Bungyel (Bungen)	46
Bwandom (Bandong)	515
Chambano (Chonbano)	194
Chori	253
Gizagwai (Kisagwai)	354
Kajim	68
Mahuta	345
Manchok	605
Randiyan (Nandiyam)	274
Unguwar Gora (Gora)	203
Zangam	375
Zankan	488
Total	4,157

Randiyan, according to Meek, is mixed Katab and Asolio: so far as can be determined, however, the latter predominate.

Kaura (population 756 in 1931) is, as already indicated, Katab. Another six villages, Adu (53), Anturum (363), Ashim (178), Asu (287), Mafan (638), and Tachira (243), [102] totalling 1,862, may account for the remainder of Asolio in the district in 1931 (cf. "tribal" figure, 4,683, returned by the Census of 1931), but the "tribal" affiliations of the different villages cannot in fact be stated.

As already noted, two hamlets of the Pari (Fari) Village-Area of Zangon Katab District are Asolio; Unguwar Gaya or Kayya (population 204 in 1950, according to Reynolds) and Chori (109).

No Ataka villages in Moroa District are anywhere specified by name. It can only be deduced from the records cited above that some 1,500 to 2,000 in the District were distributed among a maximum of five villages, in 1931, with an average population of from 300 to 400. In Kagoro District, Ataka constitute a single Village-area. In Jema'a District, Plateau Province, Mathews found five villages or hamlets, and stated: "Each village has its own headman (*agwam*) and priest (*agwam obwai*). There is no cohesion and no central authority."

Presumably each village dealt directly with the Moslem District Head. In 1950, eight Ataka villages were recognized by Administration in Jema'a: Akwat, Assob, Barshi, Biyok, Katsak, Manyi, Sakiyo, Tajan Kasa, and Ungwar Atakar. Attempts were then being made to induce the formation of something like an Ataka "tribal council," with the hope that such, if it emerged, might ultimately federate with a similar council of Kagoro in the District.

Meek's analysis of the social structure of Moroa District is fragmentary, but it appears to correspond in some detail to that outlined farther above for Kagoro, the proper names of the various units being distinctive, however. Marriage practices differ only in that girls are given in primary marriage twice a year, at the beginning of the rainy season, and again at the ripening of the millet,[103] when a form of capture, with the connivance of the girl's parents and relatives, is customary. Meek notes also that there is free intermarriage between the Asolio and those sections of the Moroa population which belong to other tribes, taking the form of primary marriages or elopment with married women. In the latter case there is the usual rule that wife-stealing is not permitted among those living in close proximity, whether they belong to the same tribe or not.

The chief priest, according to Meek, is a member of the senior Moroa clan, the Ye-Lutsi, which is dispersed among the villages of Bungyel, Chambano, Chori,

[101] Names used by Meek, when they differ from those given in the Village Directory, are placed in parentheses.

[102] Adu is rendered Abu on the map accompanying the Gazetteer of Plateau Province (Ames); Mafan appears as Mafam.

[103] Meek does not specify the date, but millet harvest in Moroa District takes place in November and December.

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Moroa
Ataka
Kaje

Gizagwai, Mahuta, and Manchok:[104] the senior lineage, then, of Ye-Lutsi is that of Gizagwai. The chief is derived from a different clan, localized apparently at Manchok, to which Meek tentatively gives the name Manchok. Meek derives the Ye-Lutsi from Yelwa, in the Chawai tribal area of Zangon Katab District, and the Manchok from Kafanchan. According to Meek, the priest of Gizagwai has a prominent role in the installation of the chief of Moroa, with which a "sacred sword," the property of the chiefly clan, is associated.

Regarding the religious beliefs of Asolio, Meek states: "The cult is primarily animistic. A feast of All Souls is held annually, and twice a year (in October and March) [105] the ghosts of the dead are heard crying in the sacred grove, a sign that the time has come when the rites should be performed.[106] A bull-roarer is used to simulate the cries of the spirits . . . In the grove there is a sacred spring, and there the priest makes his offerings of beer, calling on the departed spirits to be patient and refrain from destroying the town."[107]

Meek states also: "the Moroa have no tutelary genii, like the Katab."

A fragmentary analysis by Reynolds of Asolio villages in Zangon Katab District reveals that Chori has a fully-fledged hamlet-head (entitled *Makkadas*) whose lineage or clan is Abuwat, while Ungwar Kayya has had no hamlet-head for the past nine years, only a *wakili* [Hausa, care-taker].

In other respects, materially and superficially, at least, Asolio appear to resemble Katab proper.

Little can be said of Ataka. At the time Tremearne wrote, they used, like certain Kagoro communities upon Kagoro Rock, the ordinary round house at least as commonly as the more distinctive Katab-type house, and their women wore a distinctive type of lumbar ornament which they shared only with Kagoro women of Tuku, Jema'a District. There is no indication that these distinctions persist. Ataka were also essentially horsemen like Birom, Sura, and Ron of the Plateau and this distinguished them from other Katab affiliates. Like the Plateau people again, Ataka men commonly wore only the penis-sheath. Ataka women still supply the pots used over a wide area of south-eastern Zaria, a fact which suggests links with certain segments of the wider Birom community again (especially Irigwe and certain Afusare "colonies").

Kaje (Baju)[108]

Location: Population: Nomenclature

Virtually all major centres of Kaje settlement lie within Zangon Katab District, Zaria Emirate, in the extreme south-western corner, from which point they extend in a north-westerly and northerly direction, along the borders of Jaba and Kachia District, thence into the no-man's-land at the heart of the District, where Kamantan, Ikulu, and Kaje settlements are intermingled (see "Social and Political Organization," below). Kaje here number 24,507 (N.A. Census, 1949–50). They are also found in apparently quite recent settlements in Kachia District, where they number 1,204 (N.A. Census, 1948–9). In 1950, Kaje of Jema'a District, Jema'a Emirate-Division, totalled 925 in three villages (Yamshir 385, Mafiri 165, Maikarfi 375).

The demography of the Kaje tribal area appears to be similar to that of the Katab tribal area: the density of both Kachia and Jema'a Districts (see Kaninkon, p. 81, above, and Jaba, p. 116, below) is considerably less than that accepted for

[104] Cf. Tremearne's Enniluchwe and Reynolds' Nliche.
[105] Cf. Seasons when marriages may be contracted, noted above.
[106] Perhaps "annually," earlier in the same sentence, should read "semi-annually"?
[107] Whether any part or all of this account refers mainly to Gizagwai, or more widely, is not clear.
[108] The following account relies heavily on the research done by J. A. Reynolds, A.D.O., between 26th April and 22nd August, 1950, in Zangon Katab District. His MS. Report has been invaluable in preparing this section.

361 103 162 614

"Tribal sections"	Hamlet	Village Area	Population
Banewhan	Afana	*Afana*	1,185
	Katsik		
	Gidan Tagwai	*Gidan Tagwai*	1,704
	Amfan		
	Bakin Kogi		
	G. Tagwai Hausa		
	Makera Hausa		
	Kamurun Kaje	*Kamurun Kaje*	1,979
	Kurdan		
	Sokwap		
	Zauru		
	Marsa	*Marsa*	2,227 : 7,095
	Chanchu		
	Kunye		
	Rikawan		
Batadon	Madakiya	*Madakiya*	3,396
	Atat		
	Ayagan		
	Bodari		
	Bonkwa		
	Hausawan Matsirgas		
	Hurjam		
	Kauraje		

648 Kaje appear early to have become subject to the Kajuru kingdom which dominated the whole of the Kachichere Plateau till the Jihad, and thereafter to the Fulani: in the middle of the last century, Kaje were divided between Zaria and Jema'a Emirates, and remained so under the British till 1934, when the whole of Banewhan and Batadon, and parts of Baimbin and Bainturung tribal sections were transferred from Jema'a to Zangon Katab District of Zaria.

631 622 At the present time the Kaje area of Zangon Katab is organized and administered as follows. Each recognized village or hamlet within each Village-area has its own civil head: these presumably retain the old title of *agwam*.[110] Subordinate to the hamlet-head may be one or more titled messengers, and a number of ward (Hausa *unguwa*) heads, entitled Madaki (Hausa title), if formally invested by the Village-area head, or Mai-unguwa (Hausa), in the interim. In addition, each hamlet normally has another official, also bearing a Hausa title, Magajin gari; he is either a retired hamlet-head, or a senior relative, who advises the hamlet-head, and acts for him in his absence.

According to Reynolds, one of the hamlets is selected on historical grounds to be, administratively, the senior hamlet of the Village-area. The head of this hamlet automatically becomes the Village-area head. Whether wards within hamlets are similarly arranged in order of seniority is not clear. The Village-area head bears the title Magaji (Hausa, plural Magadai). Each Village-area has, further, a Jekada, a resident representative of the Katuka (the District head, himself the representative of the Emir of Zaria at Zangon Katab): he is essentially a messenger between the Magaji and the Katuka (cf. Wakili, below).

Resident at Zonkwa, the Wakilin Kaje (Hausa, "Minister to Kaje"), whose particular title is Sarkin Fada (Hausa, approximately "Major-domo"), is the Katuka's "mouthpiece" in the Kaje tribal area, as the several Jekadu are his "ears." The net result of this system is to bring the Village-area heads individually to terms, as it were, with the District head, though the post of Wakili is a tacit recognition of the essential integrity of the Kaje "tribe." One of the Jekadu in the Kaje area, further serves as a sort of tribal scribe under the Wakili.

[110] See below. Reynolds, whose analysis of Kaje titles is otherwise meticulous, inexplicably fails to give the indigenous title of the hamlet-head.

The Katuka has administrative, but not judicial functions. In the normal course of events his duties are limited to the collection of taxes, and the installation of hamlet-heads (Village-area heads are installed by the Emir). The Wakili in general simply relays instructions to Village-area heads from the Katuka; the official scribe is in charge of the tax census of the area. 631

The post of Village-area head (Magaji) is a new one, dating from the time of the transfer of certain Kaje villages from Jema'a to Zaria. The Magaji transmits instructions from the Katuka to the hamlet-heads of his area. He has his own police force, and several titled messengers. Judicially, also, he has some authority, can settle minor disputes and inflict small fines. Further, disputes between members of any single hamlet in his area may be brought before him when the hamlet-head concerned is unable himself to effect a settlement. If similar difficulties arose between two Village-areas both Magadai concerned would meet and attempt to reach a friendly settlement: if their efforts failed, the matter would then be brought to the tribal court, of which all Magadai are members, three constituting a quorum: appeal from the tribal court lies with the Emir. It is said, however, that in relation with the hamlet-heads the authority of the Magaji is recognized but limited. He can exert authority only through them (outside his own personal hamlet) and will take no part in the collection of tax in their areas. 622 692

Major emphasis is laid on the duties of the hamlet-head as collector of taxes, a percentage of which he receives. He is also responsible for seeing that public works are performed within his own area. As suggested above, he also has certain judicial functions, particularly in secondary marriage, where he takes the girl and her father to the magaji, when *idda* begins and also when it ends.[111] For this he is given approximately five shillings.

The Madaki may be characterized as a lesser edition of the hamlet-head. 623

According to Reynolds: " None of these civil heads has a recognized council, but all informally consult with influential elders and senior relatives, particularly in affairs concerning tribal custom, when disputes arise: as will be seen, this is less surprising when it is learned that local groupings of all sorts are also kinship groupings, as a general rule."

As already indicated, the " tribal sections " or clans are localized (see table, above). These are segmented into a number of successively smaller, less comprehensive lineage groups, down to the " minimal lineage ", the extended family inhabiting a single compound: all these likewise constitute local groups, the lineage of second order (" major lineage ") generally occupying a single village or hamlet (and being most often the exogamous unit), and that of the third order (" minor "), a ward. Thus, it will be seen that the Village-area head is the organ of a body of kinsmen, and the hamlet-head one of a still more tightly knit group, closely related to all his ward heads within the hamlet. 614 621 613

Fusion as well as fission, however, occurs among Kaje as among Kagoro; immigrant lineages are reported assimilated to lineages traditionally " of one language," maintaining in effect a kinship relationship alongside a local relationship and a tradition of alien origins. 613

Before conquest by Kajuru and/or Fulani, the effective grouping in Kaje society seems to have been the clan, as a " maximal lineage ", authority in which was vested in the *ãtiyinkwap*, or approximately " father of the group " (cf. Kagoro, above), still recognized as a ritual authority and held to be directly descended from the founding ancestor through primogeniture. His position normally passes from father to son or from elder brother to younger. If the latter, the son of the elder brother would inherit the position on the younger brother's death. The *ãliyinkwap* is the final authority in all matters concerning the welfare of the lineage, offences involving mystical sanctions, rites for fertility and rain or for warding off death and disease. After he has spoken, nobody would dare to disobey for fear of incurring mystical retribution. Similarly, within the major lineages which compose the clan 614 613

[111] *Re idda*, see Kagoro, p. 100, above.

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KAGOMA

Linguistically, Kagoma are impossible to classify with any certainty: the view has been expressed that they are connected, perhaps distantly, with Katab, but it appears that only a few words are available for comparison. On the basis of these it is perhaps far-fetched to suggest that Kagoma language may be more closely related to the Jaba than to the more typical languages of the Katab Group, such as Kaje or Katab, but such a conclusion would not be unexepected, in view of the proximity of the two peoples.

Social Organization

Kagoma are said to have capitulated early to the Fulani, though they appear to have revolted frequently against Moslem exactions, perhaps because of their very poverty and the rugged character of their environment. Villages were commonly perched upon the inselberg formations which characterize the area, and so were relatively easy to defend, but at the same time easy to besiege and difficult to flee from when their defences were pierced, so that the Fulani were able from time to time to decimate the population of the area.

In times of peace the individual villages dealt directly with the Moslem District head; under Administration this relationship has been preserved in its essentials. Kagoma have, nevertheless, been administered in various ways, originally as a separate District, but since 1916 first as a joint District with a large section of the Kaje now in Zaria Province, to which Yeskwa were subsequently attached and, finally, since the transfer of Kaje north of Kafanchan to Zangon Katab District of Zaria in 1934, with Yeskwa alone.

Very little is known of the organization of Kagoma, apart from the facts set down by Mathews that each village has both a chief (*kpob*) and a priest (*gbuboga*). According to Mathews, the village head is said to be an indigenous institution, selected from the collateral lines of one particular family by a general meeting of elders (*bukwana*) and adults, including those from hamlets which have sprung from the parent village concerned. The man chosen will not necessarily be an old man, but he should have reached man's estate and be able to "acquit himself properly." In former times he could relinquish office with the consent of the elders when he felt that he was getting past his work. "The priest has a different status and is undoubtedly an earlier conception. He chooses his own successor (a younger brother or son), but this is his own business and not that of the elders though they could probably bring the force of public opinion to bear. The idea of a chief and priest as separate entities is now ingrained; even now the priest has much more real power than the chief, who will act only on the advice of the council of elders."

Main Cultural Features

Ames, writing of Kagoma cultural affiliations, for the most part merely summarizes Temple's earlier account, stating that "their birth, marriage and burial customs are similar to those of the Kaje-Jaba-Katab Group of tribes," more particularly the Jaba, it would appear.[139] Their "dodo" cult, which Ames tends to accept as a relatively recent innovation, bears a distinct resemblance to the Kaje *obwai*. In their house-building, and also their tribal marking, Kagoma conform to general Katab norms: just as the tribal marks seem to have spread over the entire region from a Katab or Kaje centre, Tremearne was of the opinion that the distinctive Katab house-type must have originated in Kaje or Kagoma, for here he found it universally used, in contrast with, say, practice in Kagoro and Moroa Districts.

The most notable known difference between Kagoma and typical tribes of the Katab Group lies in the fact that Kagoma women do not wear the *oyam* in any form (unless they have adopted it in recent years); neither do they wear leaves. Temple describes their attire as a "loincloth," and Tremearne as "a little strip of cloth."

[139] Another feature mentioned by Ames brings to mind Jaba: "They venerate a Supreme God who is connected with the sun."

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
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be divided into three, but otherwise there is no variation. The pigment used is from the unripe kernel of the gaude (*Gardenia thumbergia*). The face is, moreover, ornamented with beads, tin or coloured earth. They seldom wash, if ever. Men wear triangular tanned leather loin-coverings, or a skin which hangs from one shoulder to the back of the knee, the front legs being tied together loosely so that its owner may easily shift it to protect the exposed side of his body. This is usually made of goat-skin on which the hair is left. Hats made of plaited palm-fibres are also frequently worn. A cape made of palm leaves is used by both sexes as a protection against rain. None but Chiefs under Government wear cloth, and these have Haussa tobes.

Youths generally shave their heads, except for a broad ridge of hair from the forehead to the nape of the neck. No shaving is done during harvest time, but at other seasons the men from time to time shave off their moustaches, but usually wear a beard.

The tribal marks are the same for both sexes and are inflicted at certain epochs in their lives—the boys have their foreheads scarified when they are able to hoe. A girl has her chest and back marked on reaching marriageable age, and her forehead when she goes to her husband. In old days the marks consisted of irregular cuts on the forehead only, but two generations ago a skilful Katab operator invented a pattern which has been adopted by Kagoro, Attaka, Moroa and Kajji, as well as by his own people. It consists of numerous short perpendicular cuts along the forehead from ear to ear, and thirteen or more long slanting lines on each cheek from ear to chin. The incisions are painted with soot.

The customs of the above-mentioned neighbouring tribes have many points of similarity, and the language of the Kagoro is similar to that of the Attakka and Moroa, and resembles that of the Katab and Kajji. Haussa is spoken by a few individuals only.

It has been suggested that, in common with the Attakka, the Kagoro own Bauchi as their country of origin, that a long while ago they migrated to Nimbia—in South Nassarawa—and thence to their present location. In matters of dress, tribal marks, architecture, customs and language they show, however, obvious affinity to the Katab and Kajji tribes in the north-west, who trace their migrations from the north.

They have always retained their independence, though they suffered defeats at the hands of the Kajji and from the Filane of Jemaa. They would, however, probably have been conquered by the latter had not a Filane mallam foreseen in a dream that whoever should subjugate them would die.

426 572 the land. This being so the fact that the borrower is prepared to build a house on the land and be somewhat more than a bird of passage is proof positive of the extent of the friendship and therefore something to be encouraged—a relic of the days when farmlands were plentiful and abundant and every addition to the male strength of the community was much sought after and welcomed.

425 33. Apart from the three transactions described above no other transactions affecting land appear to take place and if they do take place they would not be recognised by customary law. Individual tenure may have become firmly established; but this tenure is not absolute and is subject to definite customary restrictions and limitations.

The Authority in land matters.

●622 621 34. When living in their strongholds in the Kagoro hills, the Kagoro had no single tribal chief. It would be extremely difficult, at this stage, to establish what, if any, the highest single socially cohesive unit might have been—clan, sept, kindred or family group. As pointed out in paragraph 21 above, however, this is of academic interest. Whatever may have been the unit in the past there remains no discernible trace of it now. The district boundaries have been established by the British Administration and so have the village unit boundaries; a District Head and Village Unit Heads have been acknowledged and appointed and the unit is run as a tribal whole. There is evidence that parallel with the breakdown to individual tenure of the land there has been a definite development, by consent, in the new Tribal Authority's powers as regards land matters—the Tribal Authority in this case being the District Head acting with the advice and consent of his Elders. Whether or not this development is from within or a mere copying of neighbouring Emirate custom is hard to say. It exists and it is of equal interest to the development reported in paragraph 49 of Mr Rowling's Plateau Province Report, *i.e.*, " the recoil on to intensified control ". The following examples are pointers.

648 423 177

423 311 35. All farmable lands in the Kagoro district are allocated, *i.e.*, are claimed by some person or persons as being lands originally cultivated by their own immediate ancestors and therefore inherited by them. This applies to ' bush ' as well as fallow. In the past, however, swamps and kurumis were considered as being of no use for farming purposes however useful they were as hiding places in the event of a raid. They remained communal. The introduction [197] of rice and sugar cane cultivation has now altered matters. Swamp land can now be used. It is held that any member of the village unit within which the swamp lies has the right, without seeking permission from anyone, to take up such portions of the swamp as are sufficient for his needs. Any person from outside the village

unit, however, who wishes to take up a portion would have to seek the permission of the District Head. 423 311

36. Again, if a stranger comes into the district and lives there for a sufficiently long while to become accepted as one of the Kagoro themselves then he can be loaned land to build a house on by anyone who cares to lend him it. It is *loaned*, not given or sold. If, however, a stranger were to come to the district for the first time and wished to do the same thing the would-be lender would first of all have to obtain the District Head's consent. 609 423 426

37. There was an old site in the Agwan village unit formerly used by Railway Construction Workings. When the Railway Construction moved on to Kafanchan the Agwan villagers returned to the site. The site, however, was very convenient as a building site and the former District Head in consultation with his Village Heads decided to allocate it as such. This decision was accepted. More recently a farmer in the neighbourhood protested against a farm of his being so allocated for further plots. The Elders who were collected and consulted upheld the decision that the District Head was entitled to decide that the land should be used for this purpose and that custom would agree (cf. the Hausa proverb—*Gari ya kore gona*). Similar circumstances arose recently in the Kpak village unit where specific lands were 'set aside' by the District Head for Hausa and Ibo enclaves. They did not want indiscriminate settlement by outsiders and so decided to keep them fixed in a specific area. 631 622 623 423

38. It must be remembered that in no one of these circumstances could the District Head be said to have acted in accordance with his traditional powers. He is not a traditional entity. He has acted as representative of and in consultation with his Elders who are the representatives of tradition and who, by consent, have acted in novel circumstances as they would have acted traditionally. It is of great interest to note that these somewhat primitive people seem to be in the process of evolving "central powers" very similar to those accepted by customary law in the Emirates. Whether or not, as mentioned above, this is from within or a mere copying it is difficult to say. It must be remembered, however, that they are somewhat backward people. the Elders are very conservative, have a considerable say in matters and are very independent minded. It is fairly certain that the District Head could not move in such matters without their definite consent. 631 622 623 167 423 609

39. Though there appears to be a certain amount of intermingling by and absorption of non-Kagoro elements coming Immigration.